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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-sixth year

Letter dated 20 November 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you, enclosed herewith, the statement by the President of the Republic of Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, in the North Atlantic Council (see annex).

I would very much appreciate it if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 68, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Svetlomir BAEV
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

S T A T E M E N T

BY DR. ZHELYU ZHELEV,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA,
IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

Brussels, November 14, 1991

Mr. Secretary-General,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a special honor for me to be able to address this highly prestigious forum in my capacity as the first Head of State of Bulgaria ever to have visited the NATO Headquarters. This visit became possible owing to the profound changes that took place in Europe and the world at large in the past two years. They were prepared and carried out as a result of the long- standing efforts of the forces of change and democracy, to which the North Atlantic Alliance has a truly historic contribution.

Today, I am bound to stress the particular importance of the London Declaration of July 6, 1990. It placed partnership between NATO and the budding democracies in the eastern part of Europe on a radically new basis, contributing substantially to the stabilization and consolidation of the democratic processes and economic reforms there.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to address you just a few days after the NATO Rome Summit, which convincingly confirmed the willingness and the real capability of the North Atlantic alliance to renew itself.

The Republic of Bulgaria welcomes with appreciation the decisions made in Rome, which have a paramount importance for the future not only of NATO, but of the entire architecture of European security. These decisions are positive proof that NATO will continue to live up to its role as a guarantor of security and mainstay of stability in the emerging Euro-Atlantic Community. This is a role that we in Bulgaria highly appreciate and support.

Our visit here coincides in time with a crucial moment in Bulgaria's democratic development. On October 13, 1991, Bulgaria held free parliamentary elections. For the first time in 45 years, a non-communist coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces, is in office.

A unique possibility was created for a speedier and bloodless transition of our economy towards market principles, a democratization of the political life of our society and a thorough reform of the armed and security forces.

These deep-going changes made it possible for Bulgaria to take its befitting place in the family of free and democratic nations.

During the Persian Gulf War and the crisis in Yugoslavia, as well as in the dramatic days of the abortive August coup in Moscow, we firmly and resolutely stood up in defense of peace, freedom and democracy, demonstrating once again the complete identity of the fundamental ideas and values that lie at the core of the development of our relations with NATO.

The disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty has caused its former members to seek new collective guarantees for their security. This was a natural reaction, given the conceptual and material vacuum in which those countries suddenly saw their national security. Hence their strong desire for an immediate accession to NATO, the sole operational collective military structure in the continent. A desire to which Bulgaria, too, is not alien.

In the transitional period of formation of the Euro-Atlantic security architecture, Bulgaria firmly relies on the assurances of its NATO partners that "their own security is inalienably linked with the security of the other states of Europe." This clear message dated August 21, that NATO would not allow any violation of the security and sovereignty of the European countries, we regard as another expression of NATO's solidarity with, and political commitment to, our independence and sovereignty.

The Rome Declaration of NATO marks another major step in this direction and further strengthens our optimism. It supplements the indispensable trans-Atlantic link between the democracies of Northern America and Europe with an "Eastern dimension" of qualitatively new relations with the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the states emerging from what was once the Soviet Union.

We support the decisions made in Rome on establishing new, stable and balanced relations between the key institutions and structures destined to build together the future Euro-Atlantic community. Those decisions will be further elaborated and supplemented at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Europe in Maastricht and the CSCE summit in Helsinki in 1992. We

are ready to continue the regular consultations with our partners of these institutions and thus make our contribution to the formulation of important decisions pertaining to our common future.

The integration of Bulgaria with the European Community is a priority goal for us. In the near future we will be starting negotiations for an agreement on granting Bulgaria associated membership in the Community. Along with the economic aspects of such association, we also attach special importance to the possibilities that it would create for promoting political cooperation, for our gradual integration into the process of building the European Union.

In this context, we follow with interest the steps made within the European Community and the Western European Union for establishing a European identity in the security and defense area. We believe that these efforts will ultimately consolidate the European pillar of the North Atlantic Alliance and will strengthen its role as an effective guarantor of security and stability in Europe.

The CSCE process has played an extremely important role for the democratization of East European societies.

The establishment of a single Euro-Atlantic space based on universally recognized democratic values makes it possible to utilize ever more fully the positive potential of the CSCE process in overcoming the threats and challenges to the stability in the continent at this moment. Conflict prevention and crisis management - these are two main tasks that should be dealt with more actively within the framework of the new institutions, structures and mechanisms of the all-European process.

The progress made by Bulgaria in establishing democracy and human rights prompts us to expect to be granted in the near future full membership in the Council of Europe.

At this crucial moment, when the new Euro-Atlantic Community is taking shape, Bulgaria would like to make its contribution on a European as well as on a regional plane.

The region that Destiny has allotted us, the Balkans, is now again unstable and explosive. This understanding is also shared by our NATO partners, who see the region as having the highest risk factor in terms of European security. At the same time, it is a region of extremely great, strategic importance for Europe and the security of the world at large.

Bulgaria assumes its share of the responsibility for peace and stability in the region. This country has proved to be one of the key factors for stability in the Balkans. We have the potentials and political realities to remain in the future a regional "island of stability".

At the same time, any investment in Bulgaria would only provide an additional boost to its creative and constructive potential. I mean investment in the broadest sense: moral, political and material.

We do not question the legitimacy of the military assistance granted by NATO to our southern neighbors. We do not regard this as a measure directed against us. Yet, it is certainly liable to upset the already precarious balance of forces in the region. Proceeding from this point of view and from the declared desire to preserve the balances, Bulgaria should also be included among the recipients of such assistance.

This in no way means that Bulgaria contemplates stockpiling extra armaments.

Some assistance might possibly be channeled into the key structural sectors of the economy. Support for the economic reform in Bulgaria will provide more stability to the country, and to the region as a whole.

The matter of the balance of forces in the region also has a purely military aspect. Too much weaponry has been stockpiled, particularly along the erstwhile frontier between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. This anachronism remains at variance with the new processes in Europe, creating certain difficulties for our foreign policy.

The region aspires for new approaches in dealing with the problems accumulated. We see no reason why the wind of change should not sweep Bulgaria as well.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration for the efforts that made it possible to convene the Middle East Peace Conference, an event virtually unthinkable until a couple of months ago.

The disentanglement of an equally tight knot, the Cyprus question, would be of tremendous importance not only for Europe but for the Balkans as a whole.

We look with hope to the eventual establishment of constructive relations between our two NATO neighbors. We witnessed major peace initiatives in our region which, though in certain aspects are ahead of their time, contain a great positive political potential. This is why we supported them.

All this done, we should not stop here. I would like to use this high rostrum to state that Bulgaria stands ready to propose the beginning of tri-lateral political dialogue with Greece and Turkey on an appropriate level, which would lay the foundations of regular constructive consultations. Such consultations, held on a regular basis, would not only help clarify existing problems and overcome the legacy of the past, they could also possibly help explore the relevant solutions to the problems of security and stability in the region.

Such problems of national security are not confined exclusively to the Balkans; they can be found in other parts of Europe as well. Regional approaches should in our view occupy a prominent place in the future all-European talks on security and disarmament following Helsinki '92.

This is yet another group of problems where we should try to think ahead of time.

Proceeding from this assumption and from Bulgaria's desire to make its contribution in pursuit of this goal, I would like to declare our intention to host next June a representative international conference on matters of regional security in Europe. I have the pleasure to hereby officially invite NATO as a collective body to participate in this event.

We do not share the opinion that the Balkans as a whole are in crisis. There is crisis in Yugoslavia, and we would not like, neither would be in the interest of the international community, that the germ of conflict would spill over the borders and into Yugoslavia's neighbors, spreading the contamination of bloodshed and internecine war.

The conflict in Yugoslavia acquires an increasingly alarming scope. Side by side with the paramilitary units and guerrilla outfits, on the one side of the battleline is the Yugoslav Federal Army. The number of victims and casualties runs in the thousands, and keeps growing.

But what causes particular concern in Bulgaria is the tendency of expansion of the zone of conflict. Incoming messages show that the very same circimstances that led to war in Croatia are being detected closer and closer to the Bulgarian borders.

Bulgaria has repeatedly stated that it pleads for a peaceful settlement of the crisis, for granting each republic in Yugoslavia the right to self-determination by means of talks. We are resolutely against redrawing the borders between republics in Yugoslavia by military force.

Bulgaria unreservedly supports all efforts of the international community to seek solutions to the Yugoslav crisis. We follow with particular attention and hope the efforts of the European Community and the CSCE, and we wish them every success. The mission of EC observers, who under heavy tank and gun fire carry out their lofty and humane duty in the warfields of our western neighbor, merits our highest appreciation.

We stand ready to offer any support as may be necessary for stopping the bloodshed and seeking lasting and just solutions.

I would like to state that Bulgaria is ready and willing to make its contribution to the efforts of the Community and its observer mission.

We are ready, if necessary, to make available any facilities, including communications, logistics and any other conveniences to representatives of the European Community in the entire zone in Bulgaria along the Yugoslav border.

The presence of European Community observers will not only come as another evidence of our sincere, good-neighborly intentions towards our western neighbor, but could also help prevent the expansion of the zone of armed conflict in the vicinity of the Bulgarian borders.

Gentlemen,

The Bulgarian people are pinning their hopes for security, peace and prosperity on their country's growing closeness with NATO. Now both the internal and the international situation are conducive to the fulfilment of their desire. We stand ready to make our contribution to the well-being and prosperity of a new Europe.

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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

REVIEW AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE TWELFTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION

HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS

UNITED NATIONS DECADE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

Letter dated 18 November 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the text of the Communiqué on the outcome of talks between official delegations of Ukraine and the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, signed in Moscow on 6 November 1991 (see annex).

I should be grateful if this letter and its annex could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda items 60, 61, 62, 68, 77, 93, 98, 127 and 135.

(Signed) Gennadiy I. OUDOVENKO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Ukraine to the United Nations

ANNEX

COMMUNIQUE

on the outcome of talks between official delegations of Ukraine and the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic

Talks were held in Moscow on 6 November 1991 between an official delegation of Ukraine headed by L. M. Kravchuk, President of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, and an official delegation of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic headed B. N. Yeltsin, President of the RSFSR.

The delegations of Ukraine and the RSFSR reaffirmed their determination to develop all-round relations of friendship and cooperation, founded upon centuries-old traditions, between the peoples of Ukraine and Russia.

The parties declare their adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the universally recognized norms of international law and international standards in the sphere of human rights.

Pursuant to the Treaty on principles underlying relations between Ukraine and the RSFSR of 19 November 1990, and guided by the Communiqué on the talks held on 28 and 29 August 1991 between delegations of Ukraine and the RSFSR, with the participation of a delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and other joint documents,

Have agreed as follows:

1. In accordance with the fundamental national interests of their peoples and on the basis of the unconditional recognition of their choice as a result of the free expression of their will, Ukraine and the RSFSR are resolved to steer a steady course towards strengthening relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres between the two sovereign States and, to that end, to establish appropriate mechanisms for interaction.

The two parties consider such a course as having absolute priority in their State policies.

At the same time, they are open to interaction with other States. Their relations are not directed against any third party and do not prevent them from entering into treaty relations with other States.

2. The Parties regard the Treaty between Ukraine and the RSFSR of 19 November 1990 as a sound legal basis for their relations and will steadfastly and fully abide by it.

3. Ukraine and the RSFSR unconditionally respect each others' State sovereignty.

The Parties reaffirm the previously agreed principles of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between States, based on the provisions contained in the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will be further developed and expanded as part of a concerted fundamental policy of all-embracing and mutually advantageous partnership.

4. Ukraine and the RSFSR undertake to comply strictly with their obligations under the Treaty and with international standards in the sphere of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Parties will take all steps to guarantee the civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights and freedoms of every person subject to the jurisdiction of the respective Party, without distinction of any kind as to race, sex, language, religion, political opinion, social origin or other circumstances.

The Parties will, on a reciprocal basis, guarantee that the existing borders between them remain open for unhindered contacts between the citizens of the two States and, to that end, will in the near future establish an appropriate legal basis.

5. Ukraine and the RSFSR will give priority to ensuring the rights of national minorities residing in their territories and will, in particular, take effective steps to prevent any discrimination against them, including discrimination on the basis of language, and guarantee to provide conditions for the preservation, expression and development of their ethnic and cultural identities. The policies of the Parties in regard to ensuring the rights of national minorities will conform to the strict international standards in that sphere and, in particular, to the requirements established within the framework of CSCE.

6. In accordance with international standards and having regard to their own legislation, Ukraine and the RSFSR, guarantee persons residing in their territories the inalienable right to choose freely to retain the citizenship of the Party in whose territory they reside. The Parties recognize the right of persons residing in their territory to acquire the citizenship of either of the Parties. Matters concerning the acquisition of citizenship of one Party by persons residing in the territory of the other Party will be settled by appropriate agreements between the Parties.

7. Ukraine and the RSFSR base their position on the advantages of cooperation between them in foreign policy and in consideration of the question of succession in respect of international treaties signed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

8. The Parties reaffirmed their readiness to comply with the provisions of the 1991 Treaty between the USSR and the United States of America on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms and the 1990 Treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, in respect of weapons in their territory.

The RSFSR welcomes the Declaration adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine on 24 October 1991 "On the non-nuclear status of Ukraine", which reaffirms that Ukraine does not seek to possess nuclear weapons, considers the stationing of nuclear weapons in its territory temporary, and, in view of all the legal, technical, financial, organizational and other resources required to ensure environmental security, will pursue its efforts to eliminate such weapons completely.

9. The Parties agreed to pursue their efforts to work out as quickly as possible an agreed policy for future cooperation in all spheres, including the military-political sphere.

They agreed to establish a national army and a national guard, the numerical strength of which is to be established by mutual agreement, in accordance with separate agreements. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR have been instructed, in cooperation with other State structures of both Parties, to enter into talks without delay with a view to working out an appropriate bilateral agreement and other necessary agreements between the Parties.

10. The Parties will work together in the formation of a common economic space and in the management of transport and communication systems, including satellite communications and telecommunications, and will cooperate in the sphere of environmental protection, information science, the establishment of their customs policies and the development of electric power.

11. Ukraine and the RSFSR will work together on a basis of mutual advantage in the development and implementation of joint economic and social development programmes at the regional level, in accordance with the legislation of the Parties.

12. Ukraine and the RSFSR intend to expand their direct cooperation with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other international economic, financial and monetary institutions, and, in the long term, to achieve membership in those institutions and, as necessary, to undertake agreed steps in that direction.

13. The Parties welcomed the opening of the Accredited Mission of Ukraine in the RSFSR and noted that an Accredited Mission of the RSFSR in Ukraine will be opened in the near future.

Moscow, 6 November 1991

President of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine

L. Kravchuk

President of the RSFSR

B. N. Yeltsin